

Report on an International Conference on South Sudan: Consequences of the Birth of Africa's Newest State for the East and Horn of Africa Regions

An international conference on the 'Consequences of the Referendum on Sudan, the East and Horn of Africa Regions', organized by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the Africa Research and Resource Forum (ARRF), with support from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and Trust Africa, was held in Nairobi, from 28 February through 1 March 2011. The conference was an outcome of a series of discussions which started with a CODESRIA executive level mission to Sudan in August 2009. The mission was followed by a CODESRIA workshop organized in partnership with the University of Juba, University of Khartoum and Ahfad University from 17 to 18 May 2010 in Juba, South Sudan.

CODESRIA's executive leadership organised the conferences and workshops to encourage open dialogue on the intricate political situation in Sudan. Consistent with the dispositions of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), a referendum was conducted in January 2011 and South Sudan effectively voted to secede from Sudan. The new nation in the south was inaugurated on 9 July 2011. The conference in Nairobi was organized to discuss the consequences of the post-referendum situation in South Sudan. The meeting brought together leading scholars from north and south Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Senegal, Zambia, South Africa, Chad, and the United States. It also involved researchers, government officials, members of the international community, and legal practitioners whose combined views generated a successful, stimulating and productive discussion.

Value of Research

Professor Michael Chege, Chairman of the Board of Africa Research and Resource Forum (ARRF), in his welcome address thanked CODESRIA, UNECA,

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CODESRIA
and
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and ARRF for jointly organizing this conference. He pointed out that the conference was very important mainly because it demonstrated the importance that the organisers have attached to knowledge in the management of society. He explained that research is the centre piece of knowledge production and therefore in finding solutions to problems that plague Africa. It was in this context that he pointed out that the research community in Africa always values CODESRIA's work.

Professor Chege's speech was followed by opening remarks by members of the organising committee who, after underlining the timeliness of the conference for the region in general and the Sudan in particular, stated that the ideas and views generated during the conference and the conclusions and recommendations arrived at would be of great importance in shaping institution building and political orientation in the new state of South Sudan.

Professor Al Tayeb Alabadin, Advisor to the Vice Chancellor, Khartoum University, stated that the outcome of the conference would demonstrate how African countries should manage their diversity, while Ms Njeri Karuru from IDRC explained that her organisation had partnered with research institutions in Africa for the purpose of strengthening their research capacities. She stated that since events in Sudan can have an impact on the region as a whole, it was important to engage the research community to think through the pressing issues.

Dr Ebrima Sall, CODESRIA's Executive Secretary, after acknowledging IDRC and Trust Africa's financial support for the conference, pointed out that the right to self-determination is a sacred right and its exercise in South Sudan had led to one of the most important political developments in Africa since the end of apartheid. He commended Sudan for conducting the referendum peacefully and noted that it has presented a possibility for both countries to live together as neighbours, and brothers and sisters. He observed that lessons learned from the experience of fifty years of independence across Africa should be shared and applied in southern Sudan. He emphasized that African intellectuals have a unique role to play as researchers by engaging themselves with real world situations. He called on South Sudan to encourage academic freedom and respect the rights of researchers. According to Dr Sall, CODESRIA did not take side with any of the parties; it rather raised relevant and pertinent issues for discussion and understanding. He concluded by noting that there is a great need to create space for southern Sudanese intellectuals to undertake research without any inhibitions.

When Unity Contradicted Peace

The Guest Keynote Speaker, H. E. Dr Peter Adwok Nyaba, Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research, Government of Sudan, began his speech by narrating the long and complicated history of the Sudan since it came into existence as a colonial construct in 1821, a case of unity without peace. When Sudan gained its independence in 1956, no attempt was made to understand the implications of pursuing goals of a unified state without due consideration of the country's diversity. Put in another way, the political elites failed to build a nation, with the central governments in Khartoum behaving as if territorial unity was an end in itself and thus had to be imposed by force. The post-referendum reality testified to the failure of successive Sudanese governments. The case for separation became imperative after all doors for accommodation had been closed.

Dr Nyaba underlined the crucial importance of democratic governance in development because it guarantees proper management of diversity. If the leaders in the Sudan continue as in the past, there is a likelihood that the problem will exacerbate and some regions may degenerate into ungovernability. He also scrutinized the Sudan People Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and observed that it had failed to promote liberation ideology over the past six years. As a result of the paradigm shift from liberation movement to power politics by SPLA, corruption had become rife and ethnic conflict surfaced in many places. The elites in South Sudan should learn from the past and change their *modus operandi* if they want to save their country from becoming a failed state. The success of the referendum should be reflected in the establishment of a good system of government. The vote for independence should also serve as a tool for some soul searching by the National Congress Party (NCP) in Khartoum and reflect on the reasons why the southerners voted overwhelmingly for separation.

Borders and boundaries in Africa are artificial; they were created by colonialists who disregarded the ethnic and cultural diversity of the peoples. As a result, one finds different ethnic groups in different countries. For instance, the Annuak and the Nuer are in Sudan and Ethiopia. There is however an opportunity to use the communities found in different countries as bridges for social, economic and political transformation. South Sudan should therefore build good relations with all its neighbours. He noted that since the African Union (AU) does not promote dismemberment in its charter, it needs to take a leadership role in resolving conflicts that are likely to lead to dismemberment, which is always the natural route when unity contradicts peace.

Dr Nyaba further observed that higher education has a special role to play in shaping policy through national debates. Higher education in Sudan has always operated under one integrated system which he hoped would continue as the South had not developed the necessary academic and technical capacity. Currently, the University for Women and the Universities of Nyala and Darfur offer the earliest opportunities for joint scientific research with the older universities in the Sudan. In total, there are five functioning and three declared universities in South Sudan.

In terms of the way forward, Dr Nyaba proposed the following: (i) the war raging in Darfur needs a comprehensive political solution similar to what had been achieved in South Sudan; (ii) grievances in the disputed regions of Abyei, the Nuba Mountains and Southern Kordofan must be heeded, analysed and resolved before secession becomes the only alternative; (iii) the African Union should take a proactive role in resolving conflicts; (iv) peace and conflict resolution should take centre stage in dealings between Sudan and South Sudan; and (v) peace studies should be prioritized in South Sudan as well as in Sudan in order to create a proper understanding of the history of the two countries. Currently, centres offering peace studies exist at the Universities of Khartoum, Juba and Ahfad. Lastly, Dr Nyaba called upon CODESRIA to establish an annual forum at which scholars would analyze and reflect on Sudanese issues and its neighbours.

SPLA: A Shift from Unity to Secession

The second keynote address was delivered by Mahmood Mamdani, Professor and Director of Makerere Institute of Social Research and Herbert Lehman Professor of Government at Columbia University. He spoke on the theme 'Self-determination and State Making in the Twenty-first Century'. He began with a reflection on self-determination, considering it as a sacred cow, such as democracy, and posed a fundamental question: who is the 'self' in self-determination? According to him, the 'self' is a political self that was constituted and re-constituted over time. It is not permanent – in 1956 the self was Sudan and now, after the result of the referendum, the self has become South Sudan. He proceeded to ask several questions, which he said have no clear straight forward answers:

- (i) How have pan-Africanists perceived and understood this self-determination of South Sudan? What could it teach us?
- (ii) How and when did the SPLA (champion of unity) change its mind from calls for the unity of Sudan to secession and independence for the South?
- (iii) What will it take for the South to establish a new political order instead of reproducing a version of the old one?
- (iv) Would independence lead to peace? Or would peace merely be an interlude? What other things could lead to peace?

Professor Mamdani argued that independence in itself would not necessarily lead to peace. The new state carried within itself seeds of its own disintegration. In Africa, the unification of smaller entities into larger bodies came with colonialism during the creation of states. Hence, Africa's independence of the 1950s and 60s had to be understood as a particular kind of unity which was imposed by force. Since union and separation were self-sustaining, the AU should change its provisions to allow for divorce. That is, 'in order to safeguard marriage, one has to protect the right to divorce'.

He cited two cases (types) of disintegration – Eritrea was born out of old Ethiopia and South Sudan out of Sudan. In the former case, it was the end of the Cold War and military victory by the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) that led to the birth of a new nation, while in the latter it was the stalemate in the conflict and the post 9/11 situation that led to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) by the Khartoum Government. Lastly, Professor Mamdani advised African governments to address issues of multi-ethnicity and tribal questions if they desire to avoid conflicts with those who are disenfranchised.

Some of the participants challenged Professor Mamdani's statement that SPLM/A is a champion of unity. They said that Sudan had never been united and challenged those who made such an assertion to show evidence, if any. They further argued that since South Sudan had lived with repression since 1820, their fight all along had been for independence. Submission to a unity thesis, according to some of the participants, is tantamount to discrediting the southerners' struggle for self-determination; the CPA was a by-product of that struggle. They concluded by stating that the real culprits in the dismemberment of Sudan were the northern elites, who tried to Arabize and Islamize the South. One of the participants was of the view that since the South is at the beginning of a new chapter, it is important to get the record straight, otherwise the new country risks repeating mistakes made in the past.

In response, Professor Mamdani said that the analysis of the SPLA was unsatisfactory and the importance of Dr

John Garang's vision of a new Sudan was not adequately appreciated. According to him, there had been an internal struggle within the SPLA over the issues of unity and independence, albeit the minority view triumphed in the end. All these issues require close scrutiny and historically sensitive explanations. Unlike some of the participants, Professor Mamdani did not believe in the existence of SPLM but rather in SPLA. To him, the former has been in the making. To explain this point, he drew an analogy with his own country, Uganda, where the National Resistance Army (NRA) that was led by Yoweri Museveni had been replaced by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) after it had seized power.

After the keynote addresses, presentations were made on post-referendum priorities; politics and governance in South Sudan; development policies, priority programmes and projects; North-South relations and regional issues; making independence attractive through good neighbourliness, and challenges and priorities for Sudan, South Sudan and the region.

Post-referendum Priorities

Professors Taban lo Liyong and George Nyombe from the University of Juba, and Al-Tayeb Alabdin from Khartoum University, and Dr Melha Biel from Juba, South Sudan, reflected on post-referendum priorities for South Sudan. The following is a list that summarizes the priorities that were identified by the four speakers:

- (i) peace and security;
- (ii) institution building;
- (iii) nationalization of the economy;
- (iv) the creation of new conditions for socio-political transformation in Sudan and the South;
- (v) management of the transition into a new state;
- (vi) transforming the ideology of resistance and liberation to an ideology of socio-political transformation and the reality of government;
- (vi) managing diversity and social cohesion;
- (vii) attracting investment and job creation; and
- (viii) the nationalization of education.

Politics and Governance in a new State

Professor Aggrey Abate and Dr Alfred Lokuji – both from the University of Juba, Professor Gassim Badri, President, Ahfad University for Women, and Ms Sara Hassan, Human Rights Activist, Khartoum, spoke on politics and governance in South Sudan. Professor Abate made reference to the developments that have taken place in South Sudan, in the past six years, in terms of infrastructure, education and power supply. These, according to him, were made possible because of the devolution of power to the south in terms of decision making, prioritization, and implementation of programmes. He noted that a lot more remains to be done to engage the general population in meaningful participation in the economy and in the development of a free press.

Ms Hassan emphasized the importance of the respect that must be accorded to diversity if the unity of the state is to be preserved. She noted that language as a national issue should be carefully examined in a multi-lingual society such as South Sudan. She also observed that the state must be restructured in such a way that a new constitution underlining the role of multi-partyism should be put in place. The new constitution should contain clauses on the respect and protection of human rights; not forgetting that rights for women and children are human rights too.

Dr Lokuji noted that the major failure of African states has been the failure to learn from the past. The African past was rooted in imperial precedence, it promoted self-interest, sycophancy and a tendency towards centralization, which stripped people and states of political integrity and values in the process. Dr Lokuji proposed a way out through constitutionalism that would support checks and balances in institutions of governance and provide a power sharing mechanism.

Prof Badri, on his part, observed that South Sudan would develop the 'African diseases' of dictatorship, *coup d'états* and violence unless it prioritizes democracy, the rule of law and transparency. He added that the new nation should assign a larger share of its budget to education.

The participants agreed that since the new state has come about as a result of the action of a liberation struggle, it should learn from other African countries

that went through a similar process, including, among others, Eritrea, Zimbabwe and Uganda. South Sudan should also draw lessons from the South African experience in the area of reconciliation and peace building.

In order to avoid the reproduction of past African experiences, SPLM should not allow itself to turn into a single party and should avoid centralization of power. South Sudan offers a new hope and opportunity. It is time for the people of South Sudan to enjoy the dividends of the independence struggle. The new state should also undertake a national debate to define the type of government it wishes to have. The participants recommended that the new nation needs a system of government with a leadership that listens; in which everybody counts. Both South Sudan and Sudan need to go through a healing process to be able to recover from dictatorial tendencies that have plagued them for a long time.

Development Policies, Priority Programmes and Projects

Professors Yongo Bure from Kettering University, Flint, Michigan, USA and Isaak Riak, Senior Development Consultant, Juba, and Mr Christopher Zambakari, Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts, USA addressed themselves to the kind of development policies, priority programmes and projects that South Sudan should focus on immediately. Professor Bure reminded the meeting that there was a need to manage high expectations arising out of independence. In the short term, the government should focus on agriculture; the country has ample fertile land that can be utilised for extensive agricultural production. This could be managed to develop agro-processing industries. In addition, since about two-thirds of the South Sudanese populations are pastoralists; the new government should build and maintain watering points and reservoirs for the animals. There is also an immediate need to focus attention on the provision of adequate education and health services.

Professor Riak noted that South Sudan's natural resources should be harnessed to build a foundation and catalyse development. Of the many natural resources, he singled out oil, which should be managed to spur development by creating transparency and accountability mechanisms. This

is the only sure way to avoid a 'resource curse' or the so called 'Dutch Disease'.

Mr Zambakari, spoke about the dangers inherent in following ethnicity in the creation of state administrative divisions, as these might lead to fragmentation. He cautioned against the claim that cultural boundaries need to reflect political ones. He also looked at the 2009 South Sudan Local Government Act, which created a hybrid system that incorporated customary laws into local government structures. He reminded participants that this mode of mass organization was reminiscent of British indirect rule, which had a dual system, one specifically meant to manage the urban dwellers, and the other for the rural people living in the countryside.

One of the key issues that affected Sudan has been ethnic violence. It currently manifests itself in the form of a disputed border region pending consultation and resolution, with the attendant millions of internally displaced people scattered throughout the country and over half a million refugees stranded in search of a permanent home. He concluded his arguments by underpinning the urgency of problematizing democracy and decentralization in South Sudan and drawing relevant lessons from especially the South African transition model from apartheid to a democratic country.

During the discussion that followed these presentations, some participants observed that an economy that depends on oil for 98 per cent of all its revenue remains in danger of the resource curse. On top of a transparent management of the oil revenues, South Sudan needs to diversify its income into agriculture and other areas.

Regional Issues

Professor Samson Wassara, the Vice Chancellor of Western Equatoria University, in a keynote on regional issues reflected on two major questions brought about by the independence of South Sudan. These are: (i) how is South Sudan to co-exist with Sudan; and (ii) how is the AU going to ensure the stability of the region.

Physically, South Sudan is a land-locked country with poor internal and external transport infrastructure that will inhibit movement of goods and services. Professor Wassara also observed that the country has a number of unresolved issues to contend with, including but not

restricted to Abyei; and security concerns, including the proliferation of armed groups, some of which are not attached to the known parties or groups in the country. He then put the following three challenges on the table for examination:

(i) *Citizenship and nationality*: South Sudan authorities should ensure that there is no room for politically excluded groups or individuals, especially those who live in the border regions. This challenge could be taken care of by considering dual nationality.

(ii) *Water resources*: It is not yet clear as to how South Sudan is to be classified as a Nile Riparian State. Will it be categorised as an upstream or downstream state? While that is yet to be known, the River Nile is crucial for South Sudan in terms of hydro-power generation and irrigation agriculture. It is also an important resource for water transport.

(iii) *The border with Sudan*: It could become dangerous if it is militarized and there is no political goodwill from Sudan. It needs special attention and consideration. This border area should also be considered in the context of its pastoralist inhabitants who move from place to place in search of water and pasture as though there are no borders.

Professor Wassara concluded his contributions by calling on the AU and the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) to ensure that there is a peaceful Sudan for the benefit of the region in particular and Africa in general.

North-South Relations and Regional Issues

Short presentations were made at a roundtable discussion on the north-south relationships and regional issues by Dr Hamad Hawi, a lecturer at the University of Juba, Dr Kassahun Berhanu, lecturer at Addis Ababa University, Dr Alex Ratebaye, Chadian Diplomat and Researcher, and Dr Tesfaye Tafesse from CODESRIA Secretariat.

Dr Hawi started with a critical assessment of the CPA. He observed that the CPA, in spite of its name, lacked comprehensiveness, excluded the majority of the Sudanese people and political parties, created more problems than it had attempted to solve and was a creation by elites from the two contending sides. He noted that human rights, democracy, the

Abyei question, interaction between the north and south, citizenship, cross-border communities and oil would remain thorny issues because the CPA has no clear answers to them. The NCP might even be forced to have other CPAs in Darfur and other contested regions, a sign that there is nothing comprehensive in the CPA signed with the SPLM/A. The kind of relationship that the newly independent South Sudan establishes and maintains with Sudan and all its neighbours, and the policies it will adopt, will determine its prospect and that of its neighbours.

Dr Berhanu on his part, talked about the implications of South Sudan's independence for the Horn of Africa Region and beyond. He observed that the CPA was exclusive and is characterized by major flaws. It focused more on power and wealth sharing than on other pertinent national issues. Some of the issues that had either been deferred or are still pending include:

- (i) the north-south border;
- (ii) the boundaries of Abiyei, South Kordofan and the Blue Nile regions;
- (iii) security;
- (iv) negotiations between Sudan and South Sudan for the movement of goods and services;
- (v) integration of militias with the regular armed forces; and
- (vi) Nile water allocation.

Dr Ratebaye talked about the implications of South Sudan's independence for Chad. He cautioned that if Darfurians follow the self-determination path taken by South Sudan, Chad would face major instability and security problems.

Dr Tafesse focused on the possible scenarios in relation to the River Nile water utilization. In his opinion, these scenarios have to be understood in the context of the 1959 Agreement between Egypt and Sudan, the suspended Jonglei Canal, and the Cooperative Framework Agreement (CFA). There is a strong possibility that the new state will question or even reject the 1959 Agreement, claiming half of the share of the quota that was allotted to Sudan. When it comes to the CFA, for various reasons, South Sudan might align with upstream states in terms of its ratification. Lastly, he said that due to environmental, political and historical reasons, it is unlikely that South Sudan will resurrect the suspended Jonglei Canal project.

In the discussion that followed these presentations, most of the participants observed that internal factors, most particularly the events in Abyei, pushed both parties (SPLM and NCP) to sign the CPA. The general position was that the CPA, imperfect as it is, was both time- and face-saving tool for the two negotiating parties that seemed to have reached the end of the rope.

Making Independence Attractive and Good Neighbourliness

Dr Nureldin Satti, Secretary General, National Library of Sudan, Khartoum; Dr Kimo Adiebo and Dr Sirisio Oromo both from the University of Juba, as well as Mrs Entisar Hamadein, Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum made brief introductory presentations on the theme. Dr Satti underlined the urgency required to examine mistakes made in the attempt to make unity of Sudan less attractive and the independence of South Sudan more appealing. He advised that more work should be put into improving relations between the two countries. He also noted that there is a need to build and reinforce the shared social, human, economic and political resources. Similarly, he suggested identification of the sources of mistrust between the two with a view to addressing or dispelling them. Lastly, Dr Satti recommended the strengthening of civil society organizations that can reinforce inter-dependency between the two. He further identified some of the key elements that would make good neighbourliness attractive between the two countries, including but not restricted to, maintenance of security, resolution of Abyei, halting the proliferation of small arms, and regulation of free movement of people, goods and services.

Mrs Hamadein observed that there is a need to revitalize the people-to-people relations that were ignored by the CPA. Such a move would ensure the free movement of people in the region, including pastoralists who never seem to get restricted by borders.

Dr Oromo underlined the importance of peace and security in the region. He said that the new state should respect the territorial integrity of all its neighbours, fight corruption and promote human rights and the rule of law.

The participants, while in a discussion after the presentations, advised that any

temptation to relapse into conflict should be avoided. The impact and spill-over effects of any instability in any one of the two countries would have far-reaching consequences in the region and beyond. The role of higher education as a bridge to future relations between the two countries was emphasized. It was recommended that the countries should consider building joint institutions of higher learning in the two countries.

Challenges and Priorities

Ms Sara Hassan, Prof Isaak Riak, Dr Alfred Lokuji and Dr Nureldin Satti made brief presentations on the theme. Mrs Hassan underlined the need to establish democratic constitutions both in Sudan and South Sudan. She also said that both countries should ratify international conventions, work on issue of the youth and resolve inherent mistrusts.

Professor Riak presented a list of measures which he said need to be addressed by both countries if any meaningful progress is to be realized. They included:

- (i) building unity of purpose and people;
- (ii) resolving the Darfur, South Kordofan, Eastern Kassala and the Blue Nile issues;
- (iii) focusing on issues that can unite both countries, including wealth-sharing, human rights, development etc;
- (iv) using oil as a means to development;
- (v) fighting corruption;
- (vi) reducing youth unemployment; and
- (vii) creating democratic space for people to express their ideas.

Dr Lokuji on his part reiterated the importance of cooperation that leads to win-win situations. He went on to say that both countries should refocus on measures that will ensure the well-being of the people, such as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). They should also jointly combat human trafficking in the border areas and resettle IDPs and refugees.

Dr Satti called for a common vision by both countries. He observed that South Sudan should move nearer to East Africa to benefit from the advantages of a larger economic unit. He also called upon the new state to learn from the mistakes made by Sudan and other African countries in the process of building an

independent state. Higher education, social science research, governance and regional economic integration attracted most attention in the discussion that followed after the presentations. A consensus was built around the necessity of re-focusing and re-directing higher education in both Sudans by injecting in a dose of innovation and ingenuity. The participants called for inter-university exchange of scholars and students in the region. It was observed that since research budgets are too small, there is a need to work together with decision makers to increase funding. Lastly, it was noted that African intellectuals have a lot more to do, with regard to South Sudan. They should interrogate issues related to borders that divide communities, higher education and development, and regional economic integration.

Lessons Learnt

Professor Abdoulaye Bathily, Convener of the Coalition for Dialogue on Africa (CODA), gave some concluding remarks and important observation at the end of the conference. He congratulated CODESRIA for taking the initiative to organize the Post-Referendum Conference on Sudan and observed that the fifty years of independence of most African countries had been reflected in the two-day conference. The emergence of South Sudan as a new state did not represent a new phenomenon in Africa. The new state has to learn relevant lessons, not only from Africa, but also from other countries around the world that have lived under occupation and domination. By so doing, it will take its proper place on the continent.

The post-independence generation of Africans thought that scientific socialism constituted an alternative to capitalism. This approach did not work. The neo-liberal system imposed on Africa since the 1990s, exemplified by structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), had also collapsed, this time starting from the centre. The system has created few very rich people and a majority of poor populations. The recent and on-going waves of revolt in the Maghreb region and Middle East countries could be seen as further testimony to the rejection of neo-liberalism. There is therefore a need for a new people-centred alternative economic model that suits African realities.

Professor Bathily noted that nobody should expect a blueprint or a one-size-fits-all model; it will take hard work. He concluded his observations by making the following recommendations: (i) South Sudan should learn from Africa's empires of old, such as the Songhai, Bornu and Mali, to solve problems related to diversity; (ii) the new state should move cautiously and learn from other African countries in the context of what had transpired in the course of the past fifty years; (iii) the liberation of the people of South Sudan should be followed by the liberation of the people in Sudan; (iv) conditions must be created to enable African leaders to listen to possible alternatives on Africa's future as proposed by scholars and intellectuals; and (v) South Sudan needs to assert itself as a country, both regionally and globally.

Conclusions and Recommendations

By way of conclusion, some of the participants observed that countries in the region should work towards maintaining peace and cohesion; the Sudanese do not have too many choices other than learning how to co-exist as good neighbours in the same region. Interdependence should be the guiding principle in the dealings between Sudan and South Sudan. This could be galvanized if the two countries establish a common market; cooperate in the maintenance of regional security, human security and people-to-people relationships; broaden the definition of citizenship; foster development of local businesses and industries, promote trade, and develop infrastructure (roads, railways, ports, etc.). The participants noted that there is need to replace the too many NGOs and multi-lateral organizations in South Su-

dan by establishing local institutions such as a National Planning Commission.

Participants called on the government in South Sudan to manage carefully the euphoria and high expectations of independence; noting that the resources and means required in the struggle for independence are very different from those required to run a country. Attempts should be made to organize and develop the economy to ensure that it will create jobs for the people. In addition, there is a need to foster civil society organisations (business associations, trade unions, student unions, faith based organizations, traditional associations, etc.) to exert pressure upon the new government to engage in reforms and transformative activities. In sum, South Sudan has to build its own image to become part of the club of nations.